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upon the birth of a son, the child thereafter becoming the central figure of the story.

It may be well before entering upon detailed description to summarize the most important of the numerous ways in which a father honored and provided for the future of his first-born son or daughter. The birth of a first child of a chief was announced by the blowing of the conch-shell trumpet *(putoua)* by the mother's maternal uncle (mother's brother?). This uncle also went down to the sea to obtain from the holes in the rocks sea water in which to bathe the child, the water being carried back in a conch-shell. For the boy child the first rite of consequence was the erection, at his birth, of a decorated shrine and the chanting of a spell intended to strengthen his spirit. Then, there was another rite—that of bathing the child in fresh water brought from the mountains, the object of the ceremony, one would suppose, being purification. Soon after the child's birth its father planted trees to furnish it with food and cloth and some time later a new house was built in its honor, a feast being given at the time of the consecration of the new dwelling. The making of cloth, ornaments, a sacred adz, a canoe, and other things, for the first-born are recounted in the sacred chants recited upon these occasions. At some time during his childhood, the first-born male child participated in a great funerary memorial festival in which offerings of pigs were made to his ancestors' spirits in the other world. Sometimes before birth, sometimes after, the child was formally betrothed with elaborate rites; and there was a rite which constituted the presentation of the child at its first public appearance at a festival *(hakahe'e)*. At the proper times the father employed a professional bard *(tuhuna o'ono)* to instruct the boy in the sacred chants, in genealogy, and in legends. Shortly before maturity the boy's foreskin was incised, and when the youth was old enough to stand the pain, the elaborate and costly undertaking of furnishing him with a suit of tattooing was undertaken. This was followed by festivals to exhibit the tattooing, and another festival in honor of the youth, at which songs composed in his honor were sung in order to elevate him in the esteem and admiration of his tribe. Lastly there was his marriage rite. Soon after this he usually had a first-born of his own, in whose honor he would, in his turn, begin again the cycle of rites that had just been performed for him. Frequently a son would honor his father with a feast. Upon the death of his father, the son attended the proper funerary rites, and afterwards, with the rest of his family, participated in making the proper offerings at memorial feasts designed to elevate the spirit in the next world. Such was the history of the first-born son in every family of any consequence.

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763 then returning to her expression of grief. It is merely a rite intended to convince the departed spirit of the sorrow of those left behind. The women also performed the dance called *heva*, throwing off all their clothes, leaping up and down, raising their arms in the air and fluttering their hands. The dancing appears not to have been in groups—that is to say, it was not organized—but like the wailing was done by women as they were moved to express themselves in this way. It was another conventional expression of frenzied grief for the sake of the spirit. Although these performances were histrionic, conventional, and discontinuous, expressing formal grief, it is nevertheless evident from descriptions that at these times the people worked themselves into a state of emotional frenzy. In addition to wailing [304] and dancing, women mutilated themselves by cutting their heads and bodies with sharks' teeth, shells, and pieces of sharp stone, so that blood ran freely. This was called *mata-hikahika*. Men did not participate in these violent acts but chanted and did the work connected with preparation of the body for burial and the funeral feast. Songs chanted by women as a part of their mourning were, according to Père Pierre, almost always erotic. On Nuku Hiva the crying for the dead was sometimes called *hai vai-mata*. It is said that people came to do this only if a feast was offered.

All who came as mourners brought gifts to the dead, apparently consisting always of tapa. This custom exists today in the presentation to the body of European goods and money. Formerly these gifts were disposed of with the body, but today they are kept by the family.

Memorial Feasts

764 765 It is difficult to give a consecutive description of the successive feasts for the dead, for the reason that these were numerous and complicated in the ancient days and very little is remembered of them today. The best notes that I have regarding these come from the manuscripts of Catholic missionaries. Feasts for the dead were called inclusively *mau tupapa'u*. According to Père Jean (19) women were excluded from such feasts. It is known, however, that women participated in some feasts; this note must, therefore refer to certain of the feasts or parts of them that immediately followed death, or else it has reference to the fact that the great feasts were given only for men's spirits.

According to Père Pierre (4) there were nine feasts in honor of the dead, all the people joining in furnishing the food. They were called: *memava hakanoho, tia hahati, vaikaukau, vaimata, haoka, menavatu, iki ha'e, tahioa,* and *kahekaika*. At all these feasts many pigs were eaten

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and much *kava* was drunk. The feasts were given to the accompaniment of drums and the chants of the ceremonial priest. Whole nights were passed in chanting. Before the beating of the drums, the priest intoned the chant called *kaheoko*.

Dordillon (8) gives the following as the names of successive feasts for the dead: *menava hakanoho, tiahahati, haoka, uu moeka, taha, uhe* or *kohekena*. (8, p. 283.) The *ko'ika vai-mata* and *ko'ika he'e vai-mata* (feast of tears) were, according to a Nuku Hiva informant, feasts held at the house of a dead man immediately after death. The *ko'ika hakanoho menava* (feast to cause the spirit to stay) was celebrated when death seemed impending, in the attempt to prevent it. There was feasting and wailing. The *ko'ika tiahahati*—a *tapu* rite—that is, one in which women could not participate, was celebrated after the body had been dried. It included feasting and dancing.

According to modern Hiva Oa informants, the feast and accompanying celebration at the time of death was called *ko'ina vai-mata (vai-mata,* tears). Some say that women were excluded from such a feast. Melville (23, p. 224), however, describes witnessing one at which girls were dancing and women eating with the men, and he states definitely that women took an active part in the feast immediately following death. It is probable that there were certain parts of the rite immediately following death—such as the recitation of the sacred chants—that were *tapu* to women. The feast was given for the relatives and friends of the dead person and for the assistants who aided in the labor connected with the funerary practices, including the ceremonial priest who officiated. I was told that at such a feast old women danced the *hevo* naked.

Krusenstern (16, p. 173) says that for these feasts the whole stock of the family's hogs, taro and breadfruit was brought forth.

> As soon as the guests are assembled, they cut off the hog's head to propitiate the gods, and obtain for the deceased a safe and peaceable passage through the lower regions. This gift, which the priest takes possession of is secretly devoured by him, and he only leaves a small piece of it under a stone.

Langsdorff says (18, p. 154), however, that

> At least half the swine belonging to the deceased are then killed and roasted. The Tau'a and other of the taboo-friends are informed of the death, and invited to the funeral. Before the arrival of the guests, a large piece of cloth is stretched out behind the bier, on which the corpse is laid, and several stakes are stuck up with pieces of fine white cloth upon them. These are to mark the taboo place.

According to the manuscript of Père Pierre, three pigs were commonly killed on the day of the death or that immediately following. One of these, called *tia hahati* or *tia fafati (fafati,* to break), was distributed and

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727 Vincendon-Dumoulin (29, p. 257), says: "These skulls decorated the houses of all the renowned warriors, who, in derision put on them pearl-shell eyes, a wooden nose and pigs' teeth.

Dried hands were sometimes tied to the pendant tails of the loin cloth, or at the waist. A warrior would wear only pieces of skulls if he possessed many.

CURSE ON CAPTORS

727 *Kopeka ka'ahu ahi* (*kopeka*, cross; *ka'ahu ahi*, charcoal) or *kaue heaka* was a rite that allowed the mother, sister, aunt, or wife of a man who had 765 been taken as a revenge victim to go unmolested to the valley of his captors and curse them. A woman going on such an errand clothed herself in leaves and put a hibiscus flower in her hair. On Hiva Oa it was customary for her to oil her hair and body and cover them with red clay and ashes, but on Nuku Hiva to smear the forehead and cheeks instead with soot in the form of a cross. She carried to the house of the killer a little breadfruit paste and some *noni* fruits. These she threw down in the road before the house and said, "Here is your food; bring me your murderer." Then, it is said, there would appear to her like two ghosts the wraith of the murderer and that of his victim. The woman would then dance, striking her body with her hands. If she saw the ghost of the murderer precede that of his victim it was a sign that he would be taken in turn and offered for human sacrifice. The ghost of the victim being that of a dead man was to be recognized by the feebleness of its gait (7). This ceremony was considered as a form of mourning on the part of the female relative. A man attempting to perform this rite would be killed, but a woman so clothed and decorated was not touched.

727 A relative living in the valley in which a captive was to be sacrificed, could save his kinsman from being eaten by consecrating him to the tribal 266 god, for sacrifices to gods were not eaten (7). When a victim had been 602 captured and cooked, one of his relatives would attempt to get one of the stones of the oven in which the body was cooked, the stone was wrapped in a piece of sacred white cloth and worn as a neck pendant, and as a protection against the spirit of the murdered man.

PEACE-MAKING

728 A truce between two tribes at war was often called, in order to allow the celebration of one of the great harvest or funerary festivals. Sometimes such a truce was indicated by the planting of a coconut branch on the top of a mountain between the tribes at war (16, pp. 69-70). At the time of these great festivals all the people of all tribes, whether enemies

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585 however, bring double the amount of gifts sent by the girl's family. If two *ko'ina* were given for the boy, two must be given also for the girl.

It was the convention in the case of all marriage festivals that all who came were allowed to snatch and carry away anything that they desired, not only the food provided but all the possessions of the family that was giving the feast, including utensils and weapons; a chief might even take [576] canoes. But there was this bit of etiquette associated with this custom of plundering (*fao*); before anyone took anything away he must sit down and eat with the family a bit of fish or pork and two or three fingersful of *popoi*. It is said that all the food provided for the feast would disappear within ten minutes after its beginning, and that there was often violent fighting.

[171] A marriage rite of an entirely different type, one which it is particularly interesting to find in the Marquesas because it corresponds with that of Rarotonga, was described to me on Ua Pou. When the son and the daughter of a chief were married on this island (this was usual at about the ages of eight or nine) the main feature of the rite consisted in the boy's approaching the house of the girl's parents over the prostrate bodies of her relatives; and subsequently of the girl's coming to the boy's parents' house in the same way, walking over the prostrate bodies of her fiancé's relatives.

[431] After a young couple had been married for a short time, it was customary for their relatives and friends to bring them sticks of young *ute*, which were planted to provide bark with which to make cloth for their clothes and bed coverings. According to Dordillon (8) this custom was called *ahuka*. At Pua Ma'u a new house was erected for the young couple.

MEMORIAL FESTIVALS

765 The festivals in honor of the departed spirit of a man were celebrated [562] at irregular intervals after his death. Such rites were seldom performed in honor of a woman. The oldest male relative determined the proper time and attended to the arrangements.

After a long period of restriction (*kahui*) on foods, the time was finally set. A day was selected for the seeking of pigs for offerings to the spirit (*tupapa'u*) of the dead man. These gifts were presented by the descendants of the deceased. Each descendant who had a child would take his first-born on his shoulder, starting out at about four o'clock in the morning. They went all through the valley. Arrived at a house, the man would cry, "Oh (name), Oh, (name)," until the householder was awake, using in calling him the name of the householder's first-born, or his own name if he had no child. When he was awake, the man seeking pigs

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cried three times in a high voice, *"Tatapa i te puaka"* (We call on you for a pig). The householder would reply three times, similarly in a high voice, *"A hahi i te puaka"* (Chant your genealogy for the pig). The seeker then replied, *"E toe puaka tu'u tupuna, e"* (Enough pig for my ancestor). The pig or pigs were then delivered. A *tapu* called *fau'oa* reigned for the families collecting pigs while this was going on—this *tapu* allowed no eating nor smoking.

When a descendant of the dead man had obtained three or four pigs, they were taken to the ceremonial priest at the feast place and the *tapu* was lifted. The pigs were fattened, and a season of plenty was awaited before the *ko'ina* was announced. All the people in the valley aided in procuring wood for cooking. A special house (*oho au*), open at the sides, was built beside the feast place for the preparation of food. One festival would be given in honor of the spirits of several dead men at the same time, and the relatives of all united in sharing the support of the workers. The pigs were dressed, *popoi, poke,* and other foods were prepared. (See Preparation of Food.) The preparations lasted about a week, during which time all those engaged in the work were *tapu*. The last day of preparation, which preceded the actual celebration, marked the ending of the *tapu* and was called *takoui*. On this day, the great *tuhuna* (master professionals) of all kinds arrived. Ovens, each of which held twenty to thirty hogs, were fired and filled.

Just before daybreak on the day of the feast, a loud drumming announced its opening, and the old men began to sing the chant called *nato* at the feast place, continuing until the provisions were all on the dance area and the people were all assembled. People from other valleys came, bringing pigs and other provisions. The pigs were laid in rows on banana leaves on the dance floor—a row for each spirit—by men girt only with a loin cloth. The drums began to beat with the beginning of the *nato* and continued all day long. Old women, relatives of the deceased, chanted (*nahi*) in pairs all day long the genealogy of the land and of their families. (See Genealogies.) One woman would chant the names of the men, another of the women, thus:

O Nuku, h-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Nuku, for sure)
O Mea ta oe vehi-i-i-i-ne, (Mea is your woman)
O Pepane, ho-o-o-o-o-i, (It is Pepane, for sure) . . .

The professionals (*tahuna*) stood on a sacred platform, the men on another or part of one reserved for them, and the women and children were elsewhere by themselves. After the *nato* chant and before the carving of the pigs, chants called *uhaki* were sung. (See Sacred Chants.) The pigs were then cut up, whole pigs or parts being distributed to all those at

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765 the festival. A *tuhuna* would cry in a high voice, "*To ha'a fiti ia* (name)," (This share for ——), naming the man. One of the attendants would raise on his shoulder a pig or a part of one and throw it on the dance pavement. The man named would come forward with his friends and take away his share. Some pig and other food was eaten at the feast place, the rest being taken home. The members of a family who were honoring a spirit at the festival could not eat of the pigs that were in the pile laid out on the feast place for their relative, but they could eat of the other piles that belonged to the other spirits.

Melville's descriptive of the "Feast of the Calabashes," (23, pp. 192-193) which I judge to have been a funerary feast (*ko'ina tupapa'u*), though possibly it was a feast following war, gives some excellent details regarding festivals. The appearance of the feast place is described as follows:

> All along the piazza of the Ti (the warriors' house) were arranged elaborately carved canoe-shaped vessels, some twenty feet in length, filled with newly made poee-poee, and sheltered from the sun by the broad leaves of the banana. At intervals were heaps of green bread-fruit, raised in pyramidical stacks, resembling the regular piles of heavy shot to be seen in the yard of an arsenal. Inserted into the interstices of the huge stones which formed the pi-pi were large boughs of trees; hanging from the branches of which, and screened from the sun by their foliage, were innumerable little packages with leafy coverings, containing the meat of the numerous hogs which had been slain, done up in this manner to make it more accessible to the crowd. Leaning against the railing of the piazza were an immense number of long, heavy bamboos, plugged at the lower end, and with their projecting muzzles stuffed with a wad of leaves. These were filled with water from the stream, and each of them might hold from four to five gallons.

The making and drinking of *kava* is described as a part of this festival. Melville (23, p. 196) describes finding on the second day of the feast, the area before the warrior's house, the scene of the first day's activities, "altogether deserted by the men; the whole distance being filled by bands of females, shouting and dancing." This day "was ushered in by still more uproarious noises than the first. The skins of innumerable sheep seemed to be resounding to the blows of an army of drummers." He saw

[535 887] . . . four or five old women who, in a state of utter nudity, with their arms extended flatly down their sides, and holding themselves perfectly erect, were leaping stiffly into the air, like so many sticks bobbing to the surface, after being pressed perpendicularly into the water. They preserved the utmost gravity of countenance, and continued their extraordinary movements without a single moment's cessation.

Melville's description (23, pp. 196-199) of what he saw at the feast of the calabashes, undoubtedly giving an excellent idea of the general appearance of one of these great festivals, is as follows:

> Within the spacious quadrangle (the *tohua*) the whole population of the valley seemed to be assembled, and the sight presented was truly remarkable. Beneath the

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sheds of bamboo which opened towards the interior of the square, reclined the principal chiefs and warriors, while a miscellaneous throng lay at their ease under the enormous trees which spread a majestic canopy overhead. Upon the terraces of the gigantic altars, at either end, were deposited green bread-fruit in baskets of cocoa-nut leaves, large rolls of tappa, bunches of white bananas, clusters of mammee-apples, the golden-hued fruit of the artu-tree, and baked hogs, laid out in large wooden trenches, fancifully decorated with freshly plucked leaves, whilst a variety of rude implements of war were piled in confused heaps before the ranks of hideous idols. Fruits of various kinds were likewise suspended in leafen baskets, from the tops of poles planted uprightly, and at regular intervals, along the lower terraces of both altars. At their base were arranged two parallel rows of cumbersome drums, standing at least fifteen feet in height, and formed from the hollow trunks of large trees. Their heads were covered with shark skins, and their barrels were elaborately carved with various quaint figures and devices. At regular intervals they were bound round by a species of sinnate of various colors, and strips of native cloth flattened upon them here and there. Behind these instruments were built slight platforms, upon which stood a number of young men who, beating violently with the palms of their hands upon the drum-heads, produced those outrageous sounds which had awakened me in the morning. Every few minutes these musical performers hopped down from their elevation into the crowd below, and their places were immediately supplied by fresh recruits. Thus an incessant din was kept up that might have started Pandemonium.

Precisely in the middle of the quadrangle were placed perpendicularly in the ground a hundred or more slender, fresh-cut poles, stripped of their bark and decorated at the end with a floating pennon of white tappa; the whole being fenced about with a little picket of canes [signs of tapu about a restricted area]. . . .

Another most striking feature of the performance was exhibited by a score of old men, who sat cross-legged in the little pulpits, which encircled the trunks of the immense trees growing in the middle of the enclosure. These venerable gentlemen, who I presume were the priests, kept up an uninterrupted monotonous chant, which was nearly drowned in the roar of drums. In the right hand they held a finely woven grass fan, with a heavy black wooden handle curiously chased: these fans they kept in continual motion.

But no attention whatever seemed to be paid to the drummers or to the old priests; the individuals who composed the vast crowd present being entirely taken up in chatting and laughing with one another, smoking, drinking arva, and eating. For all the observation it attracted, or the good it achieved, the whole savage orchestra might, with great advantage to its own members and the company in general, have ceased the prodigious uproar they were making. . . .

All that day the drums resounded, the priests chanted, and the multitude feasted and roared till sunset, when the throng dispersed, and the Taboo Groves were again abandoned to quiet and repose. The next day the same scene was repeated until night, when this singular festival terminated.

The following account obtained by Langsdorff from his European informant probably refers to a memorial feast, although it may describe a post-war festival:

At these balls, the company appear dressed in all their most costly ornaments; the principal of these are derived from the tail feathers of the tropic-bird. Six rings are ornamented with them, which are put on each middle finger of the dancers, and some of these also, mixed with feathers of other kinds and hair, a variety of ornaments are ingeniously made for the hands, feet, hips, head, neck, and ears. Though the women of rank, as I have remarked above, are never seen at other times without at least the *tenuwu* (*ka'eu*) round the waist, yet at the dancing feasts it is expected that they appear wholly naked.

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765 that they appear wholly naked. This gives occasion to many violations of decorum, or at least what in Europe would be esteemed so; but they are, on these occasions, considered as perfectly allowable, and contribute much to the entertainment of the people.

. . . Cabri assured us that only those girls, wives, and widows danced whose husbands or lovers had been taken prisoners or conquered in combat, and that on these occasions they cut their skins with little stones, considering the dancing as a token of trouble and sorrow. When we consider that they are obliged to appear naked, contrary to the usual custom, and that they are made objects of sport and mockery to the people, it does indeed appear very probable that the dancing is imposed upon them as a sort of penance (18, pp. 158-159).

Deification Festivals

769 776 The greatest of all feasts were the memorial festivals celebrated long after the actual death of chiefs and chiefesses, inspirational priests, or ceremonial priests for the purpose of deifying their spirits. The fact that these were not celebrated until long after the death appears to have been due to two things—first, to the time required for preparation; secondly, to the necessity of waiting for such celebrations till a time of plenty. These festivals, with the rites that immediately followed the death of such great personages, constituted deification rites, having as their object the elevation of the spirits in the next world, giving them power, and thereby increasing the abundance of food and of human offspring in this world. For the spirits that were thus elevated were virtually the tribal gods, who were looked upon as the source of all earthly and human fertility. During the preparation of such festivals and the celebration of them, war was strictly forbidden. All tribes, whether friends or enemies, joined together in the celebration of these rites. The descriptions given below show clearly that these memorial festivals were feasts in honor of spirits of the dead and at the same time rites to forward fertility and generation. Chants, chiefly *uta*, or love songs, were sung; pantomimic performances connected with child-bearing and death were enacted; and nude dancing with sexual abandon was a prominent feature. In all the celebrations youthful libertines, called *ka'ioi*, played a prominent part.

Memorial Festivals for Priests

According to Père Pierre (4), three great types of festivals were celebrated in honor of deceased priests. The first was the *ko'ika oke*, the second, the *ko'ika vaihopu*, and the third, the *ko'ika u'upua*. These were given at different periods following the death.

Garcia (14, pp. 117-118) writes that the first memorial feast was celebrated one moon after the death and the next was celebrated at the end of six moons, lasting from eight to thirty days, depending upon the opulence of the family of the deceased. It is my understanding that memorial

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The melody is sung all within a range of three notes. Quavers and the trailing descent of the voice on the last note are characteristic.

Funerary Chants

Six chants intoned at different times during the night following a death were obtained in text at Pua Ma'u and will subsequently be published. The use of these is described in connection with death rites. (See Death.) The first of them, the *menava-tupapa'u* (life breath of the dead body) is descriptive of making war, having reference perhaps to the seeking of a human victim for sacrifice for the dead chief. The picture of war-making may be symbolic, having reference to the agitation and confusion that reigned after the death of a chief, a necessary part of the mourning. This chant was intoned only in the rites for a chief. The next chant, the *puna-tohu*, has to do with the seeking of the coral that was used in connection with the treatment of the body. The *vai-hahae-tupapa'u* is built around references to the fresh water that was used for washing the body. The connection of the references in the two chants which follow this, the *tai-ka'anu* and the *fiufiu*, with the funerary rites is not so clear as in the first three. The last chant sung was the *aumeha*, the object of which appears to have been to release those assisting at the funerary rites from *tapu*.

The *kaheoko* was a sacred chant sung by the ceremonial priest as a part of the funerary rites of great men. (See Memorial Festivals.)

At the memorial feasts and on certain other occasions *uhaki* composed in honor of the dead were intoned in the *feia'u*, or shrine, that was erected at the sacred place in connection with rites. The example that I have recounts the prowess in war of the man for whom it was sung. It is spoken of as a weeping chant (*he ue*). The melody, intoned by men and women singing in unison, is slow. Every other line was tapered off into the conventional weeping described in connection with mourning: thus, the second line was continued with the sobbing throat sound intoned on the sound *i;* the fourth line was continued in like manner on the sound *u;* and so on. Although men did not usually perform the weeping chant called *ue*, it is said that in this incorporation of it into the *uhaki* they sang it along with the women. The chant was accompanied by small drums (*tutu*).

The Uta Chant

There are two classes of *uta*—namely, simple love lyrics made up upon occasion, which were the songs most sung by the unmarried youths and maids, and the *uta tapu*, which were mourning chants. The words of both types were erotic. The latter type were handed down in families

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X 533 Several men marked time throughout the singing by clapping regularly in the manner called *pitika*. The singing was vigorous and precise.

PEHI

The *pehi* was sung after the *putu* and marked the completion of the singing in honor of the youth for whom the feast was celebrated. It is evident from the words of the *pehi* that it was a kava drinking song. (See melodic figure 7.) The accented rhythm of the melody was marked, and the mode of performance very energetic. The chant was unaccompanied by drums or clapping. In rhythm with the song, the chorus of men swung the upper part of their bodies from side to side, and the two hands, palms up, were shoved forward or to one side or the other, with a motion resembling shovelling, perhaps pantomiming or accompanying the presentation of the kava cup.

RELIGIOUS CHANTS

UHAKI

V 533 765 The *uhaki* was a dirge composed in honor of a dead warrior and sung on the tribal feast place upon the occasion of one of the memorial festivals celebrated periodically on behalf of the spirits of the departed. The nature of the chant as a mourning song or dirge is indicated by the inclusion after every second line of the wailing that is typical of the histrionic mourning of all the Polynesian peoples. Commonly, the wailing over a dying person, a corpse, or at a tomb, was participated in only by the women; but when the wail occurred in the *uhaki*, both men and women took part. The wail starts with a slow wavering sound deep down in the throat covering a musical interval of about a whole tone, the wavering of the voice being gradually accelerated until it is almost a trill, and is continued until the breath is exhausted. The words of the example of the *uhaki* here presented in melodic figure 8 have reference to a war of revenge. The chant was intoned in unison throughout by a chorus of men and women, and was accompanied by small drums. The verse is of considerable length. Only the first few lines are given in the example, but the remainder continues with exactly the same melody carried through every pair of lines and followed by a wail, continuing the final vowel sound of the last line preceding it.

NATO

X 533 It is said that the first *nato* was composed by a *tuhuna* named Taitihu, who lived long ago in the valley of Vevau (Atuona), on the island of Hivaoa, and that all subsequent *nato* have been modeled after his original. *Nato* were learned and sung by the old men (*tuhuna*) of the tribe at the

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victorious with several captives. The power of the deified chief was thus established and he was the god of the valley, speaking to his people through the mouth of his own inspirational priest.

An old man from the island of Ua Pou told me of another instance of the power of a deified chief, which he remembered from his youth. When the chief was old and knew that he must soon die, he said to his followers, "Soon I shall become a god; what do you desire that I do for you after I go to the sky world?" The people asked that he take away the *nonos,* a kind of sandfly which infested the island and caused much distress by its vicious bite. He observed that this would be difficult but that he would do his best. Soon after, the chief died but was not properly deified because the tribe was unable to obtain sufficient captives for the ceremony. The chief, however, overlooked this omission and went to work on the sandflies, so that within three months all the *nonos* had disappeared from the island. This chief is still the dominant deity of Ua Pou. I visited his tomb, a white-washed structure of concrete with a cross at one end and a carved stone image on the other.

The gods were almost all males. Theoretically, women could hold the highest rank, but in practice few women were actually household heads, rulers of tribes, or inspirational priests. In rare cases the eldest daughter of a chief would become chieftainess and rule in her own right, although as a rule the chief adopted a boy if his eldest child was a girl. Such a woman might be deified, but the most powerful deities were invariably male.

Those whose rank did not entitle them to a place in the sky world went to one of the three lower worlds. The lowest of these was the most desirable, while the highest one, the one immediately adjoining the world of living and therefore the easiest to reach, was highly unpleasant, dark and muddy and short of food. The world to which a man went depended on the number of pigs sacrificed at his memorial feast. Those for whom there was only one pig, or none at all, went to the poorest world. The head of the household of the dead person, some time before the memorial feast, went to each house in which

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the head husband or head wife was a relative, recited his genealogy, and called upon the household to give him pigs. They were obligated to give him at least one on such occasions. The number of pigs a man could collect was an indication of the extent of his family connections and the wealth of his family line. He would then bring all the pigs back, and the household would fatten them for six or eight months, scrimping on their own food in order to increase the size of the pigs. Several families would do this simultaneously. Finally the great feast would be held, with the eldest children of the related households as the official sponsors and donors of the pigs. The pigs were killed, roasted, and laid out on banana leaves so that all could feast their eyes and observe how many animals had been offered, the number of pigs fixing the individual's status. The pigs were apportioned by the head ceremonial priest or sometimes by the chief.

There was no particular fear of the dead in the flesh and very little fear of ghosts. The Marquesans took it for granted that the members of one's family were lingering about the dwelling after death but intended no harm. The living spoke of ghosts with the greatest casualness; they were constantly seeing and hearing them. Any peculiar or unexplained noise would be attributed to the ghosts and considered of no importance.

Bodies of the dead were mummified and kept in the dwelling or in the sacred place until preparations for the memorial feast were complete, an indeterminate length of time. The outer skin of the cadavers was rubbed off with rough coral, thimbles of skin being left on the ends of the fingers, which were pulled back over the nails—a device also used by the Egyptians. The body was eviscerated through the anus and through incisions in the skin, then rubbed with cocoanut oil day after day until it finally dried up and achieved a fair degree of mummification. Small children were not mummified but women were accorded just as careful treatment as men.

In the island of Nuku Hiva, this mummification was carried on in a separate house built on a high stone platform; but in